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§44 case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare §46] nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

§46 On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

553 The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

● 551 A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Galiya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

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If a child is named Mohammed, he is called Moh until he is quite grown up, after which he is addressed as Mohend by outsiders, and still as Moh by his immediate family. He is called Mohammed only by Arabs and Christians.

The name Mohammed is not, as has been stated,[1] given to the first son of a union as a matter of form and tradition; the first-born is more often named after his father, but the Riffians do not follow any hide-bound rule, calling their children by whatever names happen to strike their fancy.

Similarly the first girl is frequently, although not necessarily, named after her mother. Common girls' names are Fatima, Fattush, Hammut, Minnush, Mama, Rowasna, Thamimunt, Mona, Aisha, Mammut, Tha'wat, and Hadduma.

Names which are also used by Jews, such as Ishak, Yussuf, etc., are avoided. Musa, the equivalent of Moses, is seldom used, since in *thamazighth* it has the additional meaning of "hunger." Individuals bearing it must be addressed with a magical formula, lest the hunger implied in it befall him who pronounces it.

Sometimes when a child is given his regular or permanent name he also receives a nickname. This honor is, however, generally reserved until he has developed enough to exhibit distinctive and individualistic traits of appearance and behavior. The Riffians are very clever at finding resemblances and at picking out distinctive physical characteristics. A list of nicknames follows:

1. *Referring to pigmentation:*

Ashabar	very blond
Shu'uat	yellow-haired
Awara	yellow-haired
Shihibun	albinotic (literally, wool-like)
Asarkan	light-eyed (This title is often given to persons with mixed eyes. It really means that the person's eyes are not brown.)
Asgwau	red-haired
Aberkan	brown-eyed
Akarkash ...	freckled

2. *Referring to size:*

el Finsh	tiny
Ahathid	very small (This name is given when the child is very small at birth.)
Amsien.....	small
Azghirar.....	tall
Bu thaghund	very tall (the father of the rope)
Ksbats	giant

3. *Referring to characteristic form, usually exaggerated:*

Akaroa'	big head
Bu 'jif.....	big head (in at least one case, applied to a hydrocephal)
Bu ahkort ...	hammer-headed (dolichocephalic)
Akhenush ...	pot-headed (brachycephalic)
Bu krish.....	big paunch
Athemran ...	fat
Bu asiw	exceedingly fat
Zughdud *or* Mutaish ..	skinny
Bu imsoghen	big ears
Bu wenzar	big nose
Bu thaghumesth..	big tooth
Amtals	looking like a typical Metalsa man

4. *Referring to pathological conditions:*

Akshar	scab-head (a victim of scalp disease)
Aidar	lame
Ath-hashor ...	deaf

[1] E. Westermarck (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 404) says: "The first-born son is very frequently called Mohammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Desunat, Ait Wäryäger)." In 1928, after having read this selection, I inquired into the matter while visiting the Beni Urriaghel, and was unable to confirm Westermarck's statement.

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Bu tha'arur	hunchback
Bu thumzoghth ..	possessor of a single ear
Athagheir	one-eyed
Amarzu	wounded in leg or arm
Koshih	hand will not open or shut

5. *Referring to habit and occupation, and miscellaneous:*

Thabowat	midwife
Belezghai	stingy (literally, dry)
Amarsgiw	bad, naughty
Bu kiur	wears long hair
Sheikh	musician (also applied to actors in the Carnival)
Harrami	crafty, tricky
Bu rezza	wearer of a large turban
Bu shasana	cultivator of many *shasans*
Derraz	weaver (with the horizontal loom)
Bu ghiur	owner (literally father) of a donkey
Akenniny	rabbit, implying fast runner
Shaitan	demon, bad boy, brigand
Bu selmat	left-handed
Aowsa	[illegible]an
Ishen	twin
Oshun	wolf, jackal, crafty

Besides the names which have a religious significance or secular Arabic derivation, such as the *hmd* group, Ali and its derivative Hari, Amar, 'Omar, Abd el Kadher, Mimun, etc., there exists a body of names without known meaning, and said to be of ancient usage. Such are Abekri (plural Ibkretin), Windish (plural Indishen), Belash, Khartit, Wiginas, Ashor. These names are said to date from pagan times, and may be derived from earlier languages or from an extinct form of Berber speech.

Besides the name given in infancy and the nickname (which may be given at any time and is the most common appellation of the individual) there is the patronymic or matronymic, used only on formal occasions, such as the drawing up of documents by the clerk. A man's formal name is his given name, plus the name of his father, and a woman's is her given name plus the name of her father. The idea of *son* is either left to the imagination or expressed by the genitive particle *n* or the filial particle *th*. The filial particle *u*, typical of the Braber, is not frequently used in the Rif, except in names of social groupings.

When an ancestor of a certain *vein* or even *bone* has left a reputation which his descendants wish to perpetuate, his name, no matter how remote he may have been, is placed at the end after the patronymic. Such is the case, for example, with the families of Indishen and Oshannen, who have virtually acquired family names in the European sense.

Although the Riffians are regularly patronymic, matronymy is found under certain set conditions. If a child's mother is noted for some skilled accomplishment, the child is called "So-and-so the son of the midwife," or whatever she happens to be. Besides midwives, female doctors and women who habitually led the dance before marriage are thus honored. Again, a boy bears his mother's name if she be a native of a different *bone* from his father, in the case of patrilocal residence. In the case of matrilocal residence he usually bears his father's name, but instances are known of the use of the matronymic in cases of matrilocal residence.

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When, then, a boy bears his mother's name, as a result of an exogamic marriage on the part of his father this may be the mother's own name or that of her *bone* or *canton*, put in the singular and with the gender reversed. Thus, the son of a woman from Iherrushen would be Moh n Taherusht: from Iherrassen, Moh n Taherast; from Temjunt, Moh n Chimjun; from Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Amar n Charu n Aissa, an actual name.

The occurrence of matronymy, which might lead one to the supposition of an early matriarchate in the Rif, can thus be explained completely on the basis of exogamy and of distinctive trades on the part of the mother. Naturally, Riffians bearing matronyms do not

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use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *tein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *thomaiyt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion; the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among the Ait Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.